Chapter 5
The Chishti Order in the Deccan

The Chishti order was founded at Chisht, a village near Herat in modern Afghanistan. It became the earliest Sufi order to arrive in the Indian subcontinent and also the most influential among the common people. Its first centre in India was Ajmer where Shaikh Moin-ud-din Chishti (d. 1236) laid the foundation of a Chishti *khanqah.* Throughout the 13th century the order flourished in Delhi and Ajodhan where Shaikh Qutb-ud-din Bakhtyar Kaki, and Shaikh Farid-ud-din Masud and Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya taught and propagated its mystic teachings and ethical principles. The spiritual descendants of Nizam-ud-din Auliya were the first Chishtis to reach the Deccan and lay the foundations of the order.

The Chishtis of Delhi developed certain unique characteristics which were retained by the leading Chishtis of the Deccan, and therefore merit some attention. First among them was the Chishti tradition of avoiding the court and courtly affairs. The famous saying, 'My room has two doors, if the Sultan enters from one, I will leave by the other', reflected a uniform policy of the order, and the *khilafat namas* strictly

forbade the followers to accept land grants from the court. The Chishti *khanqah*s had two aspects: one related to providing its inmates an atmosphere for concentration on their spiritual life; and the other to interaction with inmates through sharing of responsibilities and with common people by interacting with scholars, soldiers, yogis, peasants and all sorts of people.

The brilliance of the Chishti tradition in Delhi was represented by Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya, but virtually extinguished by the mid-14th century. Conflicting notions emerged in the court and the *khanqah*s about the Sufi's role in society and from the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq tensions between the court and *khanqah*s were accelerated. We have noticed earlier that the shifting from Delhi to Daulatabad in 1327 destroyed the *khanqah* life of Delhi. But Delhi's loss was to a great extent Deccan's gain, as many leading disciples of Nizam-ud-din Auliya migrated to the new centre of Daulatabad. With the foundation of Bahmani Sultanate, several Chishti Sufis gravitated to Gulbarga, but in doing so they, unlike their spiritual forefathers, developed close links with the court. The Bahmani kings took the initiative in forging alliances with Muslim mystics for mustering their initially tenuous hold over the Deccan

plateau. It was believed that Sufis with their strong hold over large number of non-elite groups were capable of carrying the roots of Bahmani power deeper in public confidence.

The following account examines the lives and activities of some of the prominent Sufis who chose Deccan to be their home and laid the foundations of Chishti traditions in the south.

A. The Pre-Bahmani Chishtis

(i) Burhan-ud-din Gharib (1256-1338):

Burhan-ud-din Gharib was one of the senior disciples of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya and the first among the Chishti saints to have arrived and settled in the Deccan.[1] The exact date of his arrival cannot be ascertained from the available sources. But it may be surmised that he left Delhi around 1325-27, the period that witnessed the change of capital by Muhammad bin Tughlaq from Delhi to Daulatabad. He was among those religious elite who migrated to the Deccan as a result of this experiment of the Sultan. Prior to settling in Khuldabad, Burhan-ud-din moved to Daulatabad along with prominent figures such as

[1] A senior *khalifah* of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Rauzat-ul-auliya* (Oriental Manuscript Library, Hyderabad), ff. 14-16; K. A. Nizami, 'Sufi Movement in the Deccan', in H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds.), *History of Medieval Deccan* (Hyderabad, 1974) vol. 2, p. 179; Suleman Siddiqi, *Bahmani Sufis* (New Delhi, 1989), p. 41.

Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi (d. 1335/1337)[2], Pir Mubarak Kirman (d. 1333), Khwaja Hasan, Khwaja Umar (d. 1349)[3] and Kamal-ud-din Samana, all of whom were disciples of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya. Some of Burhan-ud-din's own disciples also migrated with him such as Kaka Sad Bakhsh[4], Shaikh Rukn-ud-din bin Imad Dabir Kashani,[5] Imad Kashani,[6] Khwaja Majd-ud-din Kashani,[7] Khwaja Burhan-ud-din Kashani, and Khwaja Jamal-ud-din Kashani, Farid-ud-din Adib (d. 1337)[8] and Maulana Rukn-ud-din.

Shaikh Burhan-ud-din was fond of *sama* and music and his disciples developed a particular type of rhythmic movement and were known as *burhanis*.[9] He maintained the traditions established by his Chishti predecessors of north India concerning the relations with rulers. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami calls him *sahib-i-wilayat* of the Deccan,[10]

[2] Ghulam Ali Musavi, *Mishkat-un-nubuwwah*, (Urdu trans.) Abul Hasan Saiyid Qadiri (Hyderabad, 1982-85), vol. 5, pp. 10-11 {henceforth *Mishkat*}; K. A. Nizami, *Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth century*, (Delhi, 2002), pp. 120, 148, 162. He was an accomplished poet and had the exalted title of Sadi-i-Hind. He was held in high esteem because of his knowledge and piety by Amir Khusrau. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Rauzat-ul-auliya*, f. 18.

[3] Khwaja Umar and Khwaja Hasan were sons of Saiyid Mahmud Shirazi. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Rauzat-ul-auliya*, f. 28; Shaikh Hasan's son Shaikh Zainuddin Daud was a distinguished *khalifah* of Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib.

[4] He was a personal attendant of Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib.

[5] For his works see, Suleman Siddiqi, *Bahmani Sufis*, Appendix A. Shaikh Ruknuddin Kashani had four brothers: Khwaja Imad, Khwaja Majuddin, Khwaja Burhanuddin, Khwaja Jamaluddin. They were all scholars of high merit and disciple of Burhanuddin Gharib.

[6] For his works see Suleman Siddiqi, *Bahmani Sufis*, Appendix A.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Rauzat-ul-auliya*, f. 27.

[9] Amir Khurd, *Siyar-ul-auliya*, (Urdu trans.) Aijaz ul-Haq Quddusi (Lahore, 1980), p.437.

[10] Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Rauzat-ul-auliya*, f 4. For the significance of the mystic concept of *wilayat*, see K. A. Nizami, *Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 175-176.

suggesting his high rank and position among the Deccan Sufis- a position which was recognised by posterity also. In fact he has been credited for laying the foundations of Chishti traditions in the Deccan and the south. It was he who explained Chishti principles to his disciples in the Deccan and further popularised the names of Shaikh Farid-ud-din Masud and Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya. Burhan-ud-din's attachment with Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya was such that before his death, he wore the *tasbih* (rosary) of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din around his neck and his *dastar* on his head and renewed the teachings of his master.[11] Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya gave his *kulah* and robe to Shaikh Burhan-ud-din Gharib before his death which signified his granting of *khilafat* to him.[12] According to Ferishta, Nasir Khan Faruqi of Khandesh, a disciple of Burhan-ud-din laid the foundations of the town of Burhanpur named after his spiritual master and also laid the foundations of a *qasbah* Zainabad in honour of Shaikh Zain-ud-din.[13]

Numerous works including his *malfuzat* throw considerable light on his contributions in spreading Chishti silsilah in the Deccan. They

[11] Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Rauzat-ul-auliya*, f. 14.
[12] Amir Khurd, *Siyar –ul-Auliya* (Urdu trans.), pp. 440-441.
[13] Abul Qasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, (English trans.) John Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India* (Delhi, 2006), vol. 4, p. 175 [henceforth, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* (English Trans.]. *Siyar-ul-Auliya* (pp. 441-2, fn. 1) mentions only the name of Burhanpur. For his account, see below, pp. 145-149

include *Ahsan-ul-aqwal*,[14] *Shamail-ul-atqiya*,[15] *Nafais-ul-anfas*,[16] *Gharib-ul-karamat*,[17] and *Baqiyat-ul-gharaib*.[18] Although Burhan-ud-din reached Deccan when he was in his old age, he had the charismatic personality and intellectual capability to plant the Chishti *silsilah* in a region without any background of mystic tradition. He possessed an extremely persuasive manner of instructing those who thronged around him. The main method of his teaching included the use of didactic stories which were constructed in a manner so as to make the mystic ideas a living reality for the listener. Following the traditions of his spiritual master, he taught higher mystic works to his senior disciples[19] and disdained possession of private property and distributed wealth and gifts to the needy and the poor. It is reported that when Muhammad bin Tughlaq sent a gift of 3000 *tankas* through Malik Naib Barbak (the future Sultan Firoz Shah), the Shaikh distributed the entire sum in charity after adding twenty *tankas* from

[14] See K. A. Nizami, 'A note on Ahsan-ul-aqwal', *JPHS*, 1, January 1955, pp. 40-41. *Ahsan-ul-aqwal* are the malfuzat compiled by Maulana Hammad Kashani. Amir Khurd, *Siyar-ul-auliya* (Urdu Trans.), pp. 441-442, fn. 1.

[15] The complete title is *Shamail-ul-atqiya wa dalail atqiya*. It mainly deals with the principles of Islamic mysticism. Manuscripts are available in the Aligarh Muslim University Library and the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Nos. 1197/E 125; and 1198/OA 19 respectively).

[16] It records the conversations of the Shaikh from 1331 to 1337, the year of his death. Azad Bilgrami believes that it was planned on the model of *Fawaid-ul-Fuad*. Manuscript is in the library of Nadwat-ul-ulama, Lucknow.

[17] Manuscript is in Salarjung Museum, no. 43/876.

[18] It does not seem to exist any longer although Azad Bilgrami consulted it in his *Rauzat-ul-auliya*.

[19] For instance he taught *Mirsad-ul-Ibad* to Shaikh Zainuddin Daud. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Rauzat-ul-auliya*, f. 29.

the *khanqah*.[20] In return he sent a prayer carpet and dates for the Sultan as a blessing.

Like Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya and Shaikh Nasir-ud-din Chiragh, he remained a celibate throughout his life. His *khanqah* was known for its quite contentment and an atmosphere of determined resignation where his disciples worked zealously for increasing the influence of the *silsilah*. Maulana Hammad is alone known to have admitted some thousand disciples to the Chishti mystic fold.[21] The rulers of Khandesh felt deeply attracted towards his spiritual order even though the Sufis often sharply criticised the behaviours of the rulers. Shaikh Zain-ud-din Daud, a disciple of Burhan-ud-din, known for his courage of convictions sharply criticised Muhammad Shah Bahmani and boldly defied his authority.

(ii) Muntajab-ud-din Zarzari Zarbakhsh (1276-1309):

He was the younger brother of Shaikh Burhan-ud-din Gharib and attained great fame in the Deccan.[22] However, very little is known about his life, even though the later generations cherished his memory by celebrating his death anniversary with enthusiasm and faith,

[20] Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Rauzat-ul-auliya*, f. 13.
[21] *Baqayat-ul-gharaib* as quoted by Azad Bilgrami, f. 12; Abdul Jabbar Malkapuri, *Tazkirah-i-auliya-i-Deccan* (Hyderabad, nd), vol. 1, p. 155.
[22] Suleman Siddiqi, 'Dakan me Chishtiya silsilah ki ibtida aur farogh (1300-1538)', *Burhan* (Sept. 1979), p. 147. For brief biographical notices, see Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Rauzat-ul-auliya*, ff. 14-16.

signifying his great impact on the religious life of the region. He is known to us only through legends and there is no trace of his *malfuzat* or accounts in other contemporary writings. What is known with certainty is that he was a senior disciple of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya and arrived at Khuldabad with 700 companions after receiving *khilafat*, accompanied with men of wealth and high stature.[23] Referring to *Futuh-ul-auliya*, Rawnaq Ali reports an incident which sheds light on the departure of his brother Burhan-ud-din Gharib to Daulatabad. Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya once enquired from Burhan-ud-din Gharib, 'Muntajab-ud-din, your brother, was he older or younger than you?' implying that Muntajab-ud-din had died before Shaikh Burhan-ud-din arrived in Deccan. A few days later, Shaikh again told Burhan-ud-din, 'I have appointed you in place of your brother, and it is binding upon you to leave for Khuldabad.' Rawnaq Ali further informs that Burhan-ud-din was reluctant to leave the company of the Shaikh and the *majlis* upon which he was told that, 'All these disciples and *khulafa* are yours. Take them along with you.' Among those present were Shaikh Kamal Khujandi, Shaikh Jam, Shaikh Fakhr-ud-din and others.[24]

[23] Ibid., f. 7; Abdul Jabbar Malkapuri, *Tazkirah-i-auliya-i-Dakan*, vol. 2, pp. 819-821.
[24] Ibid., f. 7; Rawnaq Ali, *Rauzat-ul-aqtab*, pp. 118-121; as cited in Suleman Siddiqi, *Bahmani Sufis*, p. 41.

(iii) Shaikh Yusuf Husaini (d. 1331)

He was a disciple of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya and a contemporary Chishti Sufi of Burhan-ud-din Gharib at Khuldabad.[25] He was the father of the illustrious Chishti saint Saiyid Husain Gesudaraz of Gulbarga. He made 'Raja' his *nom de plume* and was popularly known as Saiyid Raju or Shah Raju Qattal Husaini. He moved to Khuldabad along with his family during the last years of his life following the transfer of capital by Muhammad bin Tughlaq. Most of his time was spent in the company of Shaikh Burhan-ud-din Gharib and Shaikh Babu. With the arrival of other Chishti saints from the north, the Sufi activity assumed importance and took a firm footing in the Khuldabad-Daulatabad region. Chishti doctrines were openly propagated and the Sufis worked for the spiritual and moral uplift of the people.

With the death of Burhan-ud-din Gharib, Saiyid Yusuf Husaini, Pir Mubarak Karwan and Amir Ala Sijzi, in a short span of four years - i.e. between 1333-1337, the pre-Bahmani Chishti era came to an end. What is obvious from the accounts of the personal and family lives of these early Chishtis of Deccan, is the fact that they followed strictly

[25] Ghulam Ali Musavi, *Mishkat-un-nubuwwah* (Urdu Trans), vol. 5, pp. 42-43; Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Rauzat-ul-auliya*, f. 33.

the precepts of their north Indian masters. The organisation of *khanqah*s, their attitude towards state grants, in the appointment of their *khalifah*s etc. these early Sufis followed the traditions of the early Chishti saints of north India.[26]

B. The Bahmani Chishtis

(i) Shaikh Zain-ud-din Dawud Shirazi (1302-1369)

Shaikh Zain-ud-din was a *khalifah* of Shaikh Burhan-ud-din Gharib and one of the earliest Chishti Sufi of the Bahmani period.[27] After his settlement at Khuldabad, Shaikh Zain-ud-din became popular as a scholar of high repute. He had a large circle of students even before his entry into the mystic fold of Burhan-ud-din.[28] It is also recorded that the spiritual and scholastic personality of Shaikh Zain-ud-din not only influenced the Bahmani Sultans but also the rulers of the adjacent Faruqi kingdom. He was the contemporary of Ala-ud-din Hasan Bahman and his successor Muhammad Shah I and exercised a great influence on the Bahmani and Faruqi kingdoms of the Deccan. Nasir

[26] It is to be noted that the early Chishti saints of north India abstained from the company of the ruling classes. They refused to take land grants, cash gifts or inam lands and they did not necessarily appoint their own sons as spiritual successors. These tendencies were also found among the early Chishtis of the Deccan. See, K. A. Nizami, *Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century*, chapters 6 and 7.

[27] Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Rauzat-ul-auliya*, f. 29.

[28] It is suggested that he joined Burhanuddin's discipline only after he received answers to many of his spiritual queries which he believed no one could answer. See Abdul Jabbar Malkapuri, *Tazkira-i-Auliya-i-Dakan*, vol. 2, p. 873.

Khan Faruqi (r. 1399-1437) invited the saint to his capital and tried to gift several villages to him which were refused. However, Zain-ud-din obliged by moving upto the river Tapti and laying the foundation stone of twin cities Burhanpur and Zainabad, named after his *shaikh* and himself respectively. The two cities soon emerged as important urban centres.[29] The Shaikh also gave him the title of 'Ghazi' which the king added to his titles and ordered to close wine-shops and promote strict observance of religious laws. The Shaikh thereafter maintained good relations with the ruler and did not hesitate to express his honest sentiments.[30]

Trained in both exoteric and esoteric sciences, he strictly adhered to the key principles of the Chishti order. Keeping with the teachings of his *silsilah* he did not accept grants either by Bahmani or Faruqi rulers. Between 1327-1369 Shaikh Zain-ud-din's influence was unmatched in Daulatabad and it may be believed that he was the lone spiritual leader at Daulatabad which had been an active mystic centre since 1300.[31]

[29] Abul Qasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* (English trans.), vol. 4, p. 175. Amir Khurd, *Siyar-ul-auliya* (Urdu trans.), pp. 441-442, fn. 1; K. A. Nizami, 'Sufi Movement in the Deccan', in H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds.), *History of Medieval Deccan*, vol. 2, p. 181.

[30] Abul Qasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* (English trans.), vol. 2, pp. 201-202; Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Rauzat-ul-auliya*, f. 39.

[31] Zainuddin reached Daulatabad in 1327 and lived there till his death in 1369. In this period we do not notice any other prominent Sufi in Daulatabad. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Rauzat-ul-auliya*, f. 33.

His relations with Sultan Muhammad I became hostile because of his sympathy for two rebels Bahram Khan and Kumbh Dev. The Sultan had nearly crushed the rebellion when both fled the fortress and on the suggestion of Shaikh Zain-ud-din, fled to Gujarat to save their lives.[32] Sultan was deeply incensed and the whole episode accentuated his bitterness. Further, Shaikh Zain-ud-din was the only major Sufi who had absented himself in a defiant mood from the coronation ceremony of the Sultan. Being critical of Sultan's addictions to wine and indifference to moral and ethical principles of Islam, he refused allegiance to him.[33] When Zain-ud-din refused to visit the court on repeated summons, the sultan gave orders for his expulsion from Daulatabad. But Zain-ud-din retired to the tomb of Shaikh Burhan-ud-din and challenged the Sultan to remove him from there. A challenge emanating from a Chishti centre that commanded great love and reverence among the people was not to be easily accepted and the Sultan was forced to change his posture and found in tactful reconciliation a real solution of the problem. He thus sent a message

[32] Abul Qasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* (English trans.) vol. 2, p. 200; H. K. Sherwani, *Bahmanis of the Deccan* (New Delhi, 1985), pp. 72-73. The *Burhan-i-Masir* gives an entirely different version suggesting that Shaikh Zainuddin advised Bahram to beg for Sultan's pardon, the rebels did so and were pardoned, but were made to quit the kingdom. Saiyid Ali Tabatabai, *Burhan-i-Masir* (Delhi, 1936), p. 33.

[33] Abul Qasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* (English trans.), vol. 2, pp. 200-201; Ghualm Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Rauzat-ul-auliya*, ff. 33-34; H. K. Sherwani, *Bahmanis of the Deccan*, pp. 73-74; K. A. Nizami, 'Sufi Movement in the Deccan', in H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds.), *History of Medieval Deccan*, vol. 2, pp. 183-184.

of goodwill to the Shaikh and hoped for reconciliation. To this Zain-ud-din replied that the Sultan should first give up his drinking habits, close wine shops, and issue orders to his officers to act according to the Islamic principles of morality. The Sultan, we are told accepted these conditions and henceforth friendly relations were established between the two.[34] This episode also highlights the great influence and extent of prestige of the Shaikh. A ruler, however powerful, could not afford to antagonise the spiritual leaders because of the immense popularity they enjoyed among the masses. It must also be confessed that it was on account of such Chishti Sufis that the Sufi movement retained its virility and vigour in the south and countered the abuses that came in the wake of contact with the State.

Zain-ud-din's *malfuzat* were compiled by Amir Husain under the title *Hidayat-ul-qulub*.[35] Some of his leading disciples established *khanqah*s at different places in Deccan. Saiyid Yaqub, for instance, set up a *khanqah* at Nahrwala in Gujarat, where he died in 1397.[36] Another *khalifah* Saiyid Zaynu Yusuf popularly known as Shamna Miran established a Chishti *khanqah* at Murtazabad where he died in

[34] Saiyid Ali Tabatabai, *Burhan-i-Masir*, p. 33; Abul Qasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* (English trans.), vol. 2, p. 201, H. K. Sherwani, *Bahmanis of the Deccan*, pp. 73-74; Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Rauzat-ul-auliya*, f. 35. K. A. Nizami, 'Sufi Movement in the Deccan', in H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds.), *History of Medieval Deccan*, p. 184.
[35] Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Rauzat-ul-auliya*, f. 30. K. A. Nizami, 'Sufi Movement in the Deccan', in H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds.), *History of Medieval Deccan*, vol. 2, p. 181.
[36] Suleman Siddiqi, 'Dakan me Chishtiya silsilah ki ibtida aur farogh 1300-1538', pp. 150-151.

1395.[37] Qazi Kamal-ud-din, one of the *khalifah*s of Saiyid Yaqub established another *khanqah* in Gujarat where he preached Chishti doctrines till his death in 1438.[38]

(ii) Saiyid Muhammad Gesudaraz (1321-1422)

The Chishti *silsilah* in the Deccan received great impetus with the coming of Gesudaraz. Born in Delhi in 1321, Gesudaraz moved to Deccan along with his father when Muhammad bin Tughlaq ordered the general migration. At the time of his father's death in Daulatabad, he was only 16 years of age and he returned to Delhi where he joined the spiritual discipline of Shaikh Nasir-ud-din Chiragh (d. 1356), the successor of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya.[39] After spending some twenty years in the service of Shaikh Nasir-ud-din, and after holding the *sajjadgi* till 1398, he left Delhi on hearing the news of Timur's invasion and once again headed for Deccan. When he arrived in Gulbarga, the reigning Sultan Firoz Shah Bahmani (r. 1397-1422) welcomed him and granted several villages in inam (tax-free lands) which he apparently accepted.[40]

[37] Abdul Jabbar Malkapuri, *Tazkira-i-auliya-i-dakkan*, vol. 1, p. 411.
[38] Ibid. His shrine is at Nahrwala in Patan, Gujarat.
[39] Ghulam Ali Musavi, *Mishkat-un-nubuwwah* (Urdu Trans), vol.5, pp. 42-54.
[40] Saiyid Ali Tabatabai, *Burhan-i-masir*, p. 44.

On his arrival at Khuldabad, he was invited by Firoz Shah Bahmani to Gulbarga and asked to bless the place by settling down. Gesudaraz thus settled in Gulbarga in 1400 after receiving a royal welcome by the Sultan and his brother, Ahmad Khan.[41] At that time, there was no Sufi of high spiritual and academic standing at Gulbarga, the king was keen to use the services of Gesudaraz for the spiritual and intellectual development of his people and perhaps also to claim a large mass following. This provided an ideal atmosphere for Gesudaraz to work in and organise the Chishti order in a more profound manner.

Gesudaraz was already well-known in the north as an academician and scholar of repute and had composed a number of works in Delhi. Some of these works were completed during his southward journey. After settling in Gulbarga, he compiled more books and also established a *madrasah* at his *khanqah*.[42] His immense popularity at the urban centre of Gulbarga made his support to one or the other political groups of the court greatly important.[43] The cordial relations

[41] There is a difference of opinion among authors about the exact date of his arrival. Saiyid Ali Tabatabai, *Burhan-i-Masir*, p. 44 mentions 1399 while Malkapuri, *Tazkirah-i-auliya-i-dakan*, vol. 1, p. 285, gives 1412. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Rauzat-ul auliya*, f. 38 mentions 1412; H. K. Sherwani, *Bahmanis of the Deccan* suggests 1416 as well, p. 105. It is Muhammad Ali Samani (*Siyar-i-Muhammadi*, Allahabad, 1949) who mentions his date of departure of Delhi in 1398, p. 29. He also mentions that Alauddin Gwaliori came to visit Gesudaraz in 1403 at Gulbarga. Thus, he must have reached Gulbarga before that date.

[42] Suleman Siddiqi, *Bahmani Sufis*, chapter 2 and Appendix A.

[43] In Ghulam Ali Shah's *Mishkat-un-nubuwwah* it is recorded that Gesudaraz drew his followers from Saiyids, nobles, princes and shaikhs and also from tailors, cobblers etc. vol. 5, pp. 42-54.

between the Sultan Firoz Shah and Gesudaraz ended when the latter supported the claim of Sultan's brother Ahmad as the successor to the Bahmani throne in preference over Sultan's son. Angered at this, Gesudaraz was ordered to shift his *khanqah* as he claimed that its proximity to the palace was a source of distraction because of the large number of people coming there. Gesudaraz then shifted to the place where his tomb currently stands.[44]

Sultan's brother Ahmad continued to visit Gesudaraz and attended his musical sessions and donated lavish sums of money to his *khanqah*. After obtaining the throne on Firoz's death, Ahmad went even further by transferring the court's traditional support from the family of Siraj-ud-din Junaidi (a Sufi of the Junaidi order) to Gesudaraz and distributed more villages and lands to the Shaikh.[45]

As Gesudaraz became more connected with the court he also aligned himself, unlike the Chishti Sufis of the north, with the ulama and declared the supremacy of Shariat over all Sufi stages. At the same time, he launched a tirade against Ibn Arabi, whose *wujudi* doctrines were increasingly becoming popular among Chishtis, and also criticised the liberal Persian Sufis. Trained in the traditions of the

[44] Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Rauzat-ul-auliya*, ff. 22-23; H. K. Sherwani, *Bahmanis of the Deccan*, pp. 116-117.
[45] Abul Qasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* (English Trans.) vol. 2, pp. 240, 245.

khanqah of Shaikh Nasir-ud-din, he denounced the mystic thought of Farid-ud-din Attar, Ibn Arabi and Jalal-ud-din Rumi.[46]

Gesudaraz was an erudite scholar and well versed in Quranic studies, Prophetic traditions, fiqh, theology and Sufism.[47] While he had imbibed *ilm-i-batin* from Shaikh Nasir-ud-din Chiragh and *ilm-i-zahir* from Sharf-ud-din Kathaili. A linguist, with an extensive knowledge of Arabic, Persian, Hindawi and Sanskrit languages, he could converse with all sorts of people.[48] Eminent contemporary saints such as Maulana Masud Bakk and Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani corresponded with him. He also wrote a commentary on Quran and another on *Mashariq-ul-anwar*, a famous collection of Prophetic traditions.[49] Gesudaraz stood at the apex of the vast Chishti organisation of the Deccan. A large number of his disciples corresponded with him and students from Gwalior, Irach, Chatra, Ajodhan, Kalpi and Delhi visited Gulbarga to seek spiritual guidance from him.[50] Besides his students, other Sufis and scholars who visited him included Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, a well known disciple of Ala-

[46] S. A. A. Rizvi maintains that Gesudaraz never fully imbibed the Chishti traditions. *Muslim Revivalist movement in Northern India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Agra, 1965), pp. 54, 339.

[47] Ghulam Ali Musavi, *Mishkat-un-nubuwwah* (Urdu Trans), vol. 5, p. 43.

[48] Ibid, vol. 5, pp. 42-54.

[49] K. A. Nizami, Sufi Movement in the Deccan', in H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds.), *History of Medieval Deccan*, vol. 2, p. 186. MS with the *sajjada nashin* of the dargah of Gesudaraz at Gulbarga.

[50] Muhammad Ali Samani, *Siyar-i-Muhammadi*, pp. 139-151.

ud-daula Simnani of Iran. His disciple Ala-ud-din Gwaliori resigned from his position of *fatwa-navis* at Gwalior after becoming associated with Gesudaraz and began spending most of his time in seclusion. He received *khilafat* from Gesudaraz and also got his son Abul Fath Rukn-ud-din initiated into the Chishti order. There are several letters addressed to Ala-ud-din Gwaliori indicating their close relationship. Ala-ud-din Gwaliori's son Abul Fath also became a *khalifah* of Gesudaraz. He went to Gulbarga in 1411 and learnt the spiritual methods of meditations and exercises from him for four years.[51] Khwaja Ahmad Dabir, an important official of Firoz Shah Bahmani's court became a disciple of Gesudaraz and received *khilafat* in 1412.[52] Few months before Gesudaraz's death, he bestowed *khilafat* to eleven people among whom was also his son Saiyid Asghar Husaini (d. 1424).[53] Saiyid Yadullah Husaini, the grandson of Gesudaraz was one of his favourites and had been taught Islamic jurisprudence, Arabic grammar and mysticism by Gesudaraz. His *malfuzat* were compiled by one of his *khalifah*s Saiyid Mahmud bin Fazlullah Husaini. He died

[51] Ibid., pp. 147-149.

[52] He held the post of munshi dabir in the court of Firoz Shah. When Alauddin Gwaliori came to Gesudaraz for studies, Ahmad Dabir was deputed to the *khanqah* to seek clarification of certain passages which appeared contrary to Shariat in the *Fusus*. Later sources suggest that he also accompanied Shaikh Minhajuddin or Qazi Raju. Both became disciples of Gesudaraz. Ibid., pp. 143-147.

[53] Others included Shah Yadullah Husaini, Safirullah, Abdullah, Qazi Raju, Shaikhzada Shihabuddin, Maulana Bahauddin Dihlawi, Qazi Sirajuddin, Qazi Saifudin, Malik Izzuddin and Malik Shihabuddin. Ibid, pp. 151-152. Ghulam Ali Musavi, *Mishkat-un-nubuwwah* (Urdu Trans), vol. 5, p. 51. He gave *khilafat* to a number of his family members as well.

in Gulbarga in 1448 and was buried in a domed tomb constructed probably by Ahmad Shah II Bahmani.[54] Ahmad Shah held Yadullah in great respect and also invited him to settle in the new capital Bidar, which was refused although he agreed to send his brother Saiyid Minaullah Husaini (d. 1474) to Bidar. Minaullah's son Shah Kalimullah (d. 1486) assumed the *sajjadgi* at Bidar on the demise of his father and through him the Bidar line of Chishtis continue to this day.[55]

In 1422, the Bahmani capital had been shifted to Bidar and the same year Gesudaraz had also died. Before moving to Bidar, Sultan Ahmad built a great shrine (*dargah*) over the grave of Gesudaraz who had helped him to power.[56] The descendants of Gesudaraz became occupied in administering the affairs of the *dargah* as well as the vast estates bestowed upon their illustrious ancestor. They thus could not contribute to extending the Chishti doctrines.[57] Taken together, these developments effectively killed any living traditions of the Chishti Sufism in Gulbarga. Thus while the Chishti leadership at Delhi had

[54] It came to be known as *rauza-i-khurd* and the descendants of Yadullah assumed the charge of the shrine. At present two lineages of Gesudaraz are found: Akbar Husaini, Safirullah Husaini and their descendants; and Asghar Husaini, Yadullah Husaini and their descendants. The former are the direct family descendants and spiritual custodians of *rauza-i-buzurg* and the latter of *rauza-i-khurd.*

[55] Ghulam Yazdani, *Bidar: Its History and Monuments* (Oxford, 1947), pp. 109, 184-188.

[56] H. K. Sherwani, *Bahmanis of the Deccan*, pp. 121-122.

[57] Abul Qasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, (English transl.), vol. 2, p. 245. Many of the estates given by former princes are still in the possession of Saiyid's descendants.

suffered because of being unyielding before a hostile court, the Chishti leadership in Gulbarga suffered by becoming too much involved in politics. The Sufi hospices being situated too close to the seats of political power could not stay completely uninfluenced by the happenings at the court. However, although the Sufis of Gulbarga became embroiled in political machinations, the Sufis of Bijapur who flourished during the 16th and 17th centuries remained quite independent from Delhi and Gulbarga traditions and maintained a safe distance from the seats of political power.

Descendents of Saiyid Gesudaraz

Leading among the descendents of Gesudaraz was his son Saiyid Akbar Husaini, a person deeply well versed in both esoteric and exoteric aspects of religion and a prolific writer who composed a number of works on Sufism, theology, Arabic and Persian grammar, besides two *malfuzat* of his father. He studied under well known scholars such as Qazi Abdul Muqtadir, Maulana Khwajgi Nahwi, Maulana Muhammad Beghra and Maulana Nasir-ud-din Qasim. In mysticism, he was trained by his father who held him in high esteem and even used to say: 'No *murid* has surpassed his *pir*, but only two men: Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar overtook Moin-ud-din Chishti and Akbar

Husaini surpassed me'.[58] It was clear that Gesudaraz wanted him to be his successor, but Akbar died in 1409.[59] Akbar's son Saiyid Safirullah Husaini joined the government service which was contrary to the family traditions and was much disliked by his grandfather Gesudaraz. He was however given *khilafat* on the promise that he would relinquish his service, which he never did as we find him rise to the position of *risaladar* of 1000 men at Bidar.[60] It was Gesudaraz's younger son Saiyid Asghar Husaini who assumed the *sajjadgi* on the death of his father. This led to a family dispute when Safirullah took over by force and quarrels led the Sultan to intervene. An *ahadnama* was issued by the saint and a *firman* by the Sultan Mahmud Shah Bahmani in 1477 and soon a compromise was made.[61] The *khanqah* was given to the charge of member of Gesudaraz's younger son, Saiyid Asghar Husaini and his descendants while the charge of his shrine was handed over to the descendants of Saiyid Akbar Husaini. Safirullah was succeeded by his elder son Saiyid Askarullah and then by Saiyid Shah Asadullah. Asadullah's son known as Husain Shah Wali settled at Golkonda, the Qutb Shahi capital where he held important administrative position during the reign of Ibrahim Qutb

[58] Ghulam Ali Musavi, *Mishkat-un-nubuwwah* (Urdu Trans), vol. 5, p. 86.
[59] Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 51, 86.
[60] Muhammad Muhiyuddin, *Tarikh-i-Khursheed Jahi* (Hyderabad, 1286 AH), p. 181.
[61] Suleman Siddiqi, *The Bahmani Sufis*, p. 62.

Shah (r. 1550-1580). Another member of the family, Shah Raju Husaini moved to Golkonda and the Sultan Abul Hasan Qutb Shah (r. 1672-1687) became his disciple.[62]

(iii) Other Chishti Sufis

Shaikh Minhaj-ud-din, popularly known as Qazi Raju was a *khalifah* of Gesudaraz who moved to Bidar following the change of capital. Two other Chishti saints of the Bahmani period from the districts of Aland and Malda were Shaikh Ala-ud-din Ansari and Shaikh Piyara, both disciples of Shaikh Nasir-ud-din Chiragh and Shah Yadullah Husaini respectively, but were equally influenced by the teachings of Gesudaraz.[63] Shaikh Ala-ud-din often visited Gulbarga to see Shaikh Rukn-ud-din Junaidi. Shaikh Piyara's lineage was continued by Shaikh Rizqullah Mushtaqi and Shaikh Muhammad Malda.[64] Another Chishti who settled at Bidar was Saiyid Sadat Muhammad Hanif (d. 1495). A native of Gilan, he migrated to Delhi and became the disciple of Masud Bak, a contemporary of Gesudaraz. The author of *Burhan-i-masir* mentions that both Muhammad Hanif and his son Saiyid Sharif were respected by the Bahmanis of the Deccan who

[62] Ghulam Ali Musavi, *Mishkat-un-nubuwwah* (Urdu Trans), vol. 6, pp. 239-241.
[63] Muhammad Ali Samani, *Siyar-i-Muhammadi*, pp. 18, 19; Suleman Siddiqi, *The Bahmani Sufis*, p. 67.
[64] M. Mujeeb, *Indian Muslims* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 293-294.

often invited them to state occasions.[65] At Bir, Baba Shah Kuchak (d. 1402) established a Chishti *khanqah*. He is said to have met Gesudaraz while the latter was on his way to Gulbarga from Daulatabad.[66]

C. The post-Bahmani Sufis

(i) Miranji Shams-ul-ushaq (d. 1499)

Chishti traditions continued to flourish throughout 16th and 17th centuries during the Shia phase of Bijapur's history. This tradition received impetus by one family which was probably the most important in the history of the kingdom. This was the family of Miranji Shams-ul-ushaq. A hill popularly known as Shahpur hillock and remembered by the Chishtis as Munawwarpur or the 'City of light' was the home of Shah Miranji, just outside the Bijapur city wall.[67] The location of the hillock and the location of the city have important implications with regard to the relations of Chishtis with the State. In both Delhi and Gulbarga, Sufi leadership was becoming closely involved with the affairs of the political authorities, but in Bijapur this did not happen. The Sufis of the Shahpur Hillock were

[65] Saiyid Ali Tabatabai, *Burhan-i-Masir*, pp. 96, 107; Abul Qasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* (English Trans.), vol. I, p. 343.
[66] Ghulam Ali Musavi, *Mishkat-un-nubuwwah* (Urdu Trans), vol. 5, p. 59.
[67] Burhanuddin Janam, *Marsiyat-i-hazrat Burhanuddin Janam*, MS Hyderabad (in possession of Professor Akbaruddin Siddiqui), couplet no. 34; As cited in R. Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur: 1300-1700* (Princeton, 1978), p. 76.

not only separated by physical separation but also by the nature of the teachings which could be labelled as heterodox. For two centuries, throughout the duration of the Adil Shahi rule, these Sufis remained aloof from the State functionaries and from the ulama both socially and doctrinally.

The Sufis of Shahpur Hillock have left detailed accounts in both mystical and popular literature. We find elegies, letters, autobiographies and other types of writings in abundance which cast valuable light on their career. The coming of Shah Miranji to Bijapur revived in the Deccan the moribund Chishti tradition that had lingered on in the Deccan after the death of Gesudaraz. One sign of this revival was resumption of the practice of mystical writing, which in the Deccan had lapsed since the time of Gesudaraz. Although the earliest work in Bijapur was Shah Miranji's own *pir*'s work (Kamal-ud-din Bayabani), it is Shah Miranji who is remembered as the first important Sufi writer of Bijapur. More than that, he and his successors did not write exclusively in Persian, but rather established *dakani* language as a recognised medium of Sufi literature. The traits of local language was perhaps best reflected in the mystical prose and poetry of Shah

Burhan-ud-din Janam, Shah Miranji's son and immediate successor of Shahpur Hillock *khanqah*.

An important narrative poem in *dakani* composed by Muazzam Bijapuri, a *murid* of Shah Miranji's grandson Amin-ud-din Ala concerns the lives of Bijapuri Chishti saints. The poem entitled *Shajarat-ul-atqiya* is a contemporary work composed in the middle and late 17th century.[68] Different hagiographies such as *Rauzat-ul-auliya*, *Tazkirat-ul-qadiria*, *Mishkat-un-nubuwwah* also have accounts of these Sufis.

Miranji's early life's account is best discussed in an autobiographical work *khud nawisht wa nasl nama*, a short Persian manuscript preserved in Hyderabad.[69] It is said to be in the original handwriting of Miranji. According to this work, Miranji is said to have been born in Mecca and his father belonged to the Chaghtai clan, suggesting he may have come from Central Asia. It is also known that Chishti had a strong association with Khurasan region and many Indian Chishti bore affiliation from Khurasan, rather than Mecca. *Shajrat-ul-atqiya* mentions that he studied in Medina for twelve years and meditated at

[68] *Shajrat-ul-atqiya*, composed by Muazzam Bijapuri, MS Hyderabad, Salarjung Museum (Tasawwuf and akhlaq, no. 131); As cited in R. Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, p. 76.

[69] Miranji Shams-ul-ushaq, *Khud Nawisht*, Persian MS, Hyderabad, Idarah-i-adabiyat-i-Urdu, no. 863; Cited in R. Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, p. 77.

Prophet's tomb.[70] While meditating, he was intuitively guided to proceed to India and move to Bijapur. This may well have been written with the intention of giving legitimacy to the Sufi establishment at Shahpur Hillock. Shah Kamal instructed Miranji in the Chishti traditions at Bijapur.[71]

We have noticed above that the liberal and accommodative aspects of the Chishti order which was brought to Deccan by the migration of Chishtis like Burhan-ud-din Gharib and Gesudaraz ended when Gesudaraz himself became a landed notable of the Bahmani kingdom. His descendants functioned as landed caretakers of his tomb, but his spiritual successors in Bijapur continued the Chishti traditions for many generations. One of his successors, Jamal-ud-din Maghribi (d. 1423) was the mentor of Kamal-ud-din Bayabani (d. 1463), the same Shah Kamal who trained Miranji at Shahpur Hillock. In this way the Chishti traditions were transferred from Gulbarga to Bijapur just before the emergence of that city as the Adil Shahi capital. When Miranji died in 1499 the Chishti *khilafat* was passed to his son Burhan-ud-din Janam (d. 1597), a prolific and profound writer and a leading Sufi in Bijapur's history. During the entire 16th century the

[70] Ibrahim Zubairi, *Rauzat-ul-auliya-i-Bijapur*, (Urdu Trans.) Saiyid Shah Saifullah Qadiri (Raichur, 1314 AH), p. 121.

[71] *Shajrat-ul-atqiya*, pp. 19f; Cited in R. Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, p. 77; Ibrahim Zuberi, *Rauzat-ul-auliya-i-Bijapur*, (Urdu Trans.), p. 121.

city of Bijapur was dominated by Shah Miranji and his son Burhan-ud-din who kept the Chishti traditions alive at Shahpur Hillock.[72] At the time of accession of Sultan Ibrahim II, Burhan-ud-din Janam had several devotees spread throughout the country.

D. Political Relations of the Chishti Sufis

The earliest Chishti Sufi who developed close relations with the political power in Deccan was Shaikh Zain-ud-din Daud, a *khalifah* of Shaikh Burhan-ud-din Gharib.[73] During the early years, he had refused to acknowledge the rule of Muhammad Shah Bahmani on the pretext that the king did not adhere to the precepts of the Shariat, but later he reconciled his differences with the Bahmani sultan. History also records that the spiritual and scholastic personality of Shaikh Zain-ud-din not only influenced the Bahmani monarchs but also the rulers of the neighbouring Faruqi kingdom. As discussed earlier, Nasir Khan Faruqi invited the saint to his capital and tried to present several villages to him which he refused to accept. However, he obliged the Faruqi ruler by moving upto the bank of river Tapti which according

[72] Nothing now remains of Shah Miranji's *khanqah* at Shahpur Hillock and only a small stone marks his burial place. The fame of the Hillock now rests more with his son and grandson Burhanuddin Janam and Amin uddin Ala. It has come to be known as Amin dargah. R. Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur*, p. 78.

[73] Shaikh Zainuddin reached Daulatabad in 1327 and lived till his death in 1369. He was the sole incharge of the spiritual domain of his pir and the only prominent sufi of the period. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Rauzat-ul-auliya*, f. 32.

to Shaikh Zain-ud-din was his jurisdictional limit and laid the foundations of two cities named after his *pir* and himself, Zainabad and Burhanpur, which soon became important urban centres.[74]

Shaikh Zain-ud-din, in keeping with the teachings of his order, did not accept grants from either the Bahmani or the Faruqi rulers. Between the years 1327-1369, he exercised a great deal of influence on the local population. It may be presumed that the absence of any Sufi of high spiritual and scholastic standing at Daulatabad, which had remained the centre of Sufi activity since 1300 AD. Nasir Khan Faruqi's invitations requesting him to come down to his capital must have added a large number of people of that state to his fold. He must have been the lone spiritual leader of Muslim society in and around the place. When Muhammad Shah Bahmani moved his forces to Daulatabad to crush the rebellion of Bahram Khan, he came in direct contact with Shaikh Zainuddin. The events relating to this contact are interesting and highlight the influence of the Shaikh. It is reported that on the arrival of Bahmani forces, Bahram rushed to meet Shaikh Zain-

[74] Abul Qasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, (English Trans.), vol. 4, p. 175; K. A. Nizami, Sufi Movement in the Deccan', in H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds.), *History of Medieval Deccan*, vol. 2, p. 181; Abdul Jabbar Malkapuri, *Tazkirah-i-auliya-i-Deccan*, vol. 1, p. 377; Suleman Siddiqi, *The Bahmani Sufis*, p. 129.

ud-din, who advised him to leave for Gujarat.[75] This enraged Muhammad Shah who asked Shaikh to leave the place. Later however truce was made when Sultan sent Sadr-ush-Sharif and offered an apology and good relations were formed between the two.

There are definite socio-political and religious implications of this event. On the one hand, it reflects the Islamic orthodoxy of the saint and his strict adherence to Shariat for he had put before the Sultan an order to close all wine shops, and promote strict religious laws. On the other hand, it also shows the disregard for Shaikh Rukn-ud-din Junaidi's patronisation of the state. The latter had all along remained a divine protector of the dynastic rule since its inception, as has been seen earlier, though Shaikh Rukn-ud-din's reaction is not known.

Muhammad Shah I, was one of the greatest rulers of Bahmani kingdom and was careful enough to provide a sound basis to the socio-religious institutions of his kingdom. He felt happy in the company of Sufis and ulama like Shaikh Zain-ud-din, Shaikh Rukn-ud-din, Shaikh Ayn-ud-din Ganj-ul-ilm, Maulana Nizam-ud-din Barani and Hakim Zahir-ud-din Tabrezi who settled in his kingdom, making it a centre of learning and scholarship. His successor Mujahid

[75] Abdul Jabbar Malkapuri, *Tazkira-i-auliya-i-Deccan*, vol. 1, p. 376; Abul Qasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* (English Trans.), vol. 2, p. 200.

Shah ruled for less than three years, but at his coronation, Shaikh Rukn-ud-din sent his own turban, as a sign of support. Immediately after assuming kingship, he personally went to Daulatabad to pay his respects at the tomb of Shaikh Burhan-ud-din Gharib even though he regarded Shaikh Zain-ud-din as his spiritual mentor.

Muhammad Shah II's reign of 19 years was comparatively peaceful. He took keen interest in promoting learning and appointed teachers in urban centres such as Gulbarga, Bidar, Qandhar, Elichpur, Daulatabad, Junair, Chaul, Dabul and other cities and fixed scholarships to those who were interested. The Sultan held Shaikh Rukn-ud-din in high esteem and also visited him when the Shaikh was ill. Even after the death of the Shaikh, he visited his shrine to pay homage and distributed alms to the poor and needy who stood around the shrine. The policies of Muhammad Shah II opened the doors for Arabs, Persians and Turks and for immigrant poets and scholars.[76] When Muhammad II died, the Bahmani kingdom was devoid of Sufis of high academic and spiritual standing and prominent leaders such as Shaikh Zain-ud-din, Shaikh Rukn-ud-din and Shaikh Ayn-ud-din Ganj-ul-ilm were also no more.

[76] H. K. Sherwani, *Bahmanis of the Deccan*, pp. 77-78.

There seems to have been a vacuum in the Sufi activity of the Deccan, although there was a network of the disciples of Burhan-ud-din Gharib, Zain-ud-din Daulatabadi etc. operating over various parts of the present Maharashtra and Karnataka. However these men were confined to the shrines of their masters, which were gradually becoming centres of saint cult. Politically also, the Bahmani kingdom was passing through a crisis.[77] The political and spiritual atmosphere of the Bahmani state settled when Taj-ud-din Firoz came to power in 1397 and with the arrival of Gesudaraz in 1400. Firoz was well-versed in Quranic commentaries, Islamic Law, technicalities of Sufism and philosophy. Shias were making their way into the Bahmani kingdom and it was due to his broad religious outlook and desire to have learned and eminent scholars in his capital that ulama of Iran such as Lutfullah Sabzwari, Hakim Hasan Gilani and Sufis like Gesudaraz and Syed Abd-ur-Rahman settled in his kingdom. He was the first Bahmani ruler who tried to develop composite culture in the Deccan.

Chishti association with the Bahmani court was intensified by another prominent Sufi of the time, Muhammad Husaini Gesudaraz (d. 1422), a famous Sufi whose life is indicative of the degree to which certain Chishti ideals of 14th century Delhi were compromised in 15th century

[77] See above, Chapter 3, pp.69-71.

Gulbarga. He moved from the ideals of Chishti order of avoiding the court and from his arrival till his death, he was frequently in contact with the ruling monarchs. He rationalised his political activism saying: 'the most fortunate man is he who is endowed with good things of the world and also has a pure mind turned towards God.' He also said that while 'it is best for the Sufi to remain aloof, and he cannot cut himself off from it completely. He should be like a bird drinking water from a stream, which takes up water in its beak but keeps its body dry.'[78]

On his arrival at Gulbarga, the ruling Sultan Firoz Shah Bahmani sought him out and granted him several villages as *inam* or tax-free lands, which he apparently accepted. The court was busy in scholarly debates conducted by the king and attended by scholars and nobles. However, the intellectual atmosphere of the court was not open and free as that of the *khanqah*. It merely served the king as a source of intellectual satisfaction, while the *khanqah* was a dynamic institution. It was the court academics which brought the ruler in clash with the saint and in this respect the king seemed to have been strongly backed by his prime minister, Mir Fazlullah Inju. In 1415, Firoz Shah nominated his son Hasan Khan and sent him to seek the blessings of

[78] Saiyid Akbar Husaini, *Jawami-ul-kalim*; cited from Suleman Siddiqi, 'Sufi orders in the Deccan', in S. Z. Jafri and H. Reifeld (eds.), *Islamic Path: Sufism, Politics and Society in India* (Delhi, 2006), p. 174.

Gesudaraz, who however predicted in favour of Ahmad Khan, the brother of Sultan Firoz. Gesudaraz's popularity with the urban population evidently lent considerable political support to Sultan's brother Ahmad as heir apparent. The important part of the event was not the denial of the saint to accept Hasan Khan but his nominating another member of the royal family. It can also be inferred that the turn of events must have given self-confidence to Ahmad Khan. On the other hand, the confidence of Firoz Shah was badly shaken when he was defeated by the Raya of Vijayanagar when he overlooked the advice of Gesudaraz of sending Ahmad to the war instead of marching in person. The relationship between the two reached a breaking point when the *khatib*, whom Gesudaraz had recommended to Firoz Shah, was not permitted to discharge the duties of *kitabat*, and the saint remarked, 'he has removed your name from *kitabat* and I have removed his name from the *khutba* itself.'[79]

The clash in its early stages was purely of an intellectual nature, and mutual respect and formal relations between both remained undisturbed till around 1415. The king normally used to call on the saint to seek his blessings on important occasions such as venturing on war. The letters of Gesudaraz suggest that he offered his blessings

[79] Ghulam Ali Musavi, *Mishkat-un-nubuwwah* (Urdu Trans.), vol. 5, p. 19.

with no great exuberance but as a careful well-wisher. Gesudaraz continued to advise his disciples to remain loyal to the ruler and to regulate their conduct in relation to the king according to the Shariat and according to the advice of the *pir*. His letters indicate that his teachings were in no way harmful to the institution of kingship, but his loyalty to the crown did not necessarily imply loyalty to any particular king.

When their relations became estranged the Sultan ordered him to shift his *khanqah*. Ahmad regularly attended the sama assemblies and donated lavish sums of money on Gesudaraz's establishement. On succeeding to the throne, Ahmad transferred the court's support from the family of Siraj-ud-din Junaidi to Gesudaraz and granted him even more villages and towns in the region around Gulbarga and also built for him a magnificent *madrasah*.[80] Tabatabai informs us that 'Ahmad Shah had close association with the *mashaikh*, having profound knowledge and deep insight into the secrets of mysticism. He was fully accomplished in all disciplines of contemporary knowledge.'[81] Major shifts took place during his reign at political, social and religious levels. In 1407, Gesudaraz assigned *khilafat* to his eldest son

[80] Abul Qasm Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* (English Trans.), vol. 1, p. 245.
[81] Saiyid Ali Tabatabai, *Burhan-i-Masir*, p. 54.

Saiyid Akbar Husaini. But the latter died in 1408 leaving behind a son Safirullah, who held the post of *risaladar* at Bidar. In 1422, few months before his death, he assigned *khilafat* to eleven persons including his younger son Asgharullah Husaini and his grandson Safirullah Husaini.[82] After his death, Asghar Husaini came to Gulbarga to claim the *sajjadgi* but Safirullah also arrived for the purpose along with armed men. The matter was referred to Ahmad Shah Bahmani who advised them to settle the matter mutually. In the controversies that this matter created, Ahmad Shah hardly had any hopes from the descendants of Gesudaraz and Tabatabai also states that Ahmad did not have any faith in the *mashaikh* of the Deccan.[83]

It was a normal pattern in the history of Indian Sufism that as a Sufi's political sympathies merged with those of the court, his doctrinal position generally became more orthodox. This was certainly true in the case of Gesudaraz. Under Nizam-ud-din Auliya, the Chishti order had incorporated monistic ideas of Ibn Arabi, and this had created stern condemnation of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq and the leading ulama. Unlike the Chishtis of Delhi, Gesudaraz closely aligned with the ulama and declared the supremacy of Shariat over all Sufi stages

[82] Ghulam Ali Musavi, *Mishkat-un-nubuwwah* (Urdu Trans.), vol. 5, p. 51.
[83] For this division see, Ahadnama and farman of Mahmud Shah Bahmani in Rauza-i-Buzurg collection, Appendix B, III and IV; cited from Suleman Siddiqi, *The Bahmani Sufis*, p. 153, n. 13. Also see, Saiyid Ali Tabatabai, *Burhan-i-Masir*, p. 54.

and launched a tirade against Ibn Arabi's ideas- which formed the ideological underpinning of Chishti order. He also criticised Attar and Rumi, who were much revered by the Chishtis.[84]

No Chishti Sufi of note succeeded Gesudaraz at Gulbarga. In the year he died, 1422, Bahmani capital was shifted to Bidar which removed the political centre on which Deccan Chishtis had come to depend. However, before leaving Gulbarga, Sultan Ahmad built a grand shrine over the grave of Gesudaraz, a Chishti Sufi who had helped him to power. As this tomb became a focal point of devotionalism, the descendants of Gesudaraz became more and more occupied in administering the affairs of the *dargah* and the vast estates bestowed upon their illustrious ancestor. This turned their attention from teaching Chishti doctrines and they became pre-occupied with the *dargah* and the *inam* grants supporting them.[85]

After the city of Gulbarga and its surrounding lands passed in the hands of Bijapur in the early 16th century, the Adil Shahi court evidently honoured these grants as historian Ferishta notices, 'in the present day, though the country had passed from the family of Bahmani to that of the kings of Bijapur, yet most of the estates given

[84] S.A.A. Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements*, p. 54.
[85] Abul Qasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* (English Trans.), vol. 2, p. 245.

by the former rulers are still in possession of the Saiyid's descendants.'[86] The *dargah* of Gesudaraz was enlarged in 1640. Praised by Sultan Ibrahim II and visited at least twice by Sultan Muhammad, this *dargah* had become by the mid 16th century one of the great devotional centres of the Deccan. The *Bandanawaz urs* had been and still is a particularly celebrated event in the region.

The many Sufis who inhabited Bijapur during the reigns of Ibrahim II (r. 1580-1627) and Muhammad (r. 1627-56) may be divided into two broad categories. One consisted of Deccan born Sufis of the Chishti order who were affiliated with the *khanqah* of Miranji Shams-ul-ushaq of Shahpur Hillock. These Sufis representing a relatively established tradition that had persisted even through the kingdom's Shia period, focused their energies on writing literature both for their fellow mystics and the non-elite elements of the population. Living beyond the city walls they exhibited a distinct preference for withdrawal from urban society and institutions, particularly the Adil Shahi court. Another category of Sufis, for most part Qadiris and Shattaris who had migrated to Bijapur from outside Deccan directed their energies at reforming the court of what they considered its un-Islamic tendencies. As city dwellers, these Sufis were usually well

[86] Ibid.

integrated with the institutions of urban Islam. The rustic literati and the urban reformist thus represented two Sufi responses to the Muslim city in its Hindu environment. The one reached directly towards the lower-class population, both Muslim and non-Muslim; the other employed his prestige and influence for reforming the court. The two types also formed Sufi counterparts to the old social dichotomy among Bijapuri's Muslims: The literati were the Deccanis and the Reformists were the foreigners, with more of an Arab or Iranian orientation.

In view of the remarkable syncretism which had taken place during the reign of Ibrahim II, and especially in view of the Sultan's personal religious eclecticism, it is not surprising that some kind of reactionary reform movement might appear at this time. This phase of Bijapur's history roughly paralleled what Aziz Ahmad has called the 'Naqshbandi Reaction' with reference to Mughal India after Akbar- that is an orthodox reaction, led by Sufis to the monarch's religious experimentation.[87] In Bijapur, this reaction took place in three distinct forms: one was by Sufis aggressively thrusting themselves on the court in the role of puritanical traditionalists; another by their passively allowing the court to seek their council; and a third by

[87] Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 182-190.

affecting a posture of ostentatious disdain for the court, a manoeuvre that genuinely attracted more than one Sultan to a Sufi.

Miranji Shams-ul-ushaq and his descendants carried forward the tradition of producing literature both for their fellow mystics and disciples and also for the masses in Persian and Dakhani languages. They exhibited a distinct preference for withdrawal from urban society and from the court. The Chishti Sufis of Shahpur Hillock were important for their contribution to development of Dakhani and Urdu literature on the one hand and for the formulation and dissemination of Sufi doctrine on the other. Many dervish Sufis of the 17th century Bijapur were linked by spiritual or family ties to the Chishtis of Shahpur Hillock. Amin-ud-din Ala, the son of Burhan-ud-din Janam who lived on Shahpur Hillock certainly did not maintain any contact with Ibrahim II and Muhammad Adil Shah.